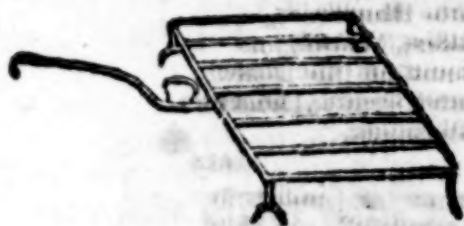


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EMIGRATION,

AND

"COBBETT'S DAMNABLE DOCTRINE."

By Wm. Knight, Esq. October 1833.

I connect these subjects in the title of the article because as the reader will see, as he proceeds, they have a natural connexion, in fact. A little while ago I received the following note, intended, of course, to be published. At any rate, very proper to be published by me, in defence of myself, or rather, in defence of my little work, price half-a-crown, called the "EMIGRANT'S GUIDE." I will begin by inserting the note.

Bazing-lane, 23, September, 1833.

"Sir,—I do not know whether you have before heard of, or received, a copy of the enclosed pamphlet; I have therefore taken the liberty of sending you one, in case you should not. I have read many of your publications, and amongst others the "EMIGRANT'S GUIDE," which has certainly had a great tendency to promote emigration to the United States of America; and amongst those on whom it has had this influence, is the writer of the enclosed pamphlet, whom I have the pleasure of being personally acquainted with, and know him to be a young man of great abilities and of good character. I also am fully aware that he did not leave England with any extravagant ideas concerning America, but that all he expected was to obtain

"a livelihood, which he has succeeded in doing; so that the opinions expressed in the pamphlet do not arise from his having been disappointed in his expectations, but from conviction of the truth of what he has written, having observed so many Englishmen unable to obtain any kind of employment, however willing and able to work. This pamphlet deserves your notice, whether the statements contained therein are true or not, because, if they are true, it is your duty to prevent, as far as lies in your power, Emigration to the United States—if not true, it is likely to be widely circulated both in London, Liverpool, and Bristol, and may have the effect of keeping many persons in England in a state of misery, to whom emigration would prove a blessing.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours most respectfully,

"R. KNIGHT."

Now, before I insert the address, here pointed out to my attention, and which the writer was good enough to send me, let me observe that, though he is personally acquainted with the writer, the writer himself takes care not to put his name to his address. To be sure we have the name of the godfather; but not of the father of this production, though Mr. KNIGHT says he is possessed of such "great abilities." This father assumes the name of "Caustic, junior," while, however, he has no scruple to give at full length the names of several persons whom he represents in the very odious light of decoy-ducks and swindlers, some of those persons living at New-York, and some of them at Bristol, in England. This is not the way that men of "great abilities" usually conduct their side of a literary warfare; and Mr. KNIGHT must excuse me, if I think that his vouching

for the "good character" of Mr. *Caustic* appears to me not to be quite enough to weigh down the very serious objection that is thus presented, in the foreground, against placing implicit reliance on his statements. Mr. KNIGHT is, I dare say, happily ignorant of the law of libel; or he would have known that, to republish in England the pamphlet of his friend "*Caustic*," would expose the republisher to the very serious animadversions of the law, if those persons at BRISTOL, who are so unceremoniously assaulted in this address, were to choose to appeal to that law, in defence of their characters. Nor, is the publisher of Mr. "*Caustic*" safe at NEW-YORK, where the law of libel (as far as relates to defamation) is wisely and justly, the same law as we have here. From the nature of things he cannot prove the truth of what is asserted in this address; any jury in either country must convict him of defamation, if brought before a court. Nay, there needs not a *republishing* of this defamation in England; that is to say, by means of the *press*: to show this NEW-YORK pamphlet to any one in England, is to *publish* it, in the eye of the law; and, indeed, it is an addition to the offence, that the publishing takes place in this clandestine manner. I, who have been taught to understand the law of libel, and taught, too, by the very ablest teachers in this whole world, shall take very good care not to put, in this republication that I am about to make, the names of the parties who are thus libelled. A B C D E F and G will be just as satisfactory to my readers, and just as conducive to the cause of truth; though, perhaps, not quite so gratifying to the feelings of Mr. "*CAUSTIC, JUNIOR*."

With this preface I shall insert this address, begging my readers to pay attention to it; because it is a matter of deep interest to many persons in this kingdom. When I have inserted it, I shall show, very clearly, that my book is not chargeable with any of the evils here enumerated; and that, if it had been listened to, Mr. "*CAUSTIC, JUNIOR*," would never have had matter wherewith to furnish forth his address.

EMIGRATION.

An Address to Emigrants, particularly to Englishmen, about to emigrate to the United States of America, in answer to several publications now in circulation.—By CAUSTIC, junior, in America. New-York, 1832.

ADDRESS.

MY FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

1. WHEN I see so many of you deceived and led astray by the false pamphlets published in England, more particularly in the city of Bristol, by the firm of ——— and ———, and so plentifully distributed by Mr. ———, the grocer, of ——— street, "on the advantages" to be met with from emigration to "the United States of America," I consider it my duty, as a friend to truth, to warn you of the shoals upon which you are running; however difficult the task may be for one young in years to oppose these publications, I joyfully hasten to my labour; I have no sinister motives in view, I am guided by no interested parties; I am anxious alone to release my countrymen from the labyrinth into which they are falling. Every word contained in this address will be substantiated by the strongest evidence, and it will then rest with yourselves either to receive or reject the advice now offered.

2. Englishmen — you are daily perusing books published by base and designing men, desirous only of enriching their own pockets at the cost of the unguarded. These books present to the eye of an English reader — America a paradise of earthly bliss. The essence of the work is quickly instilled into the mind of the heretofore contented yeoman, he reads of a new world open to his view, where the *fertile land* lies neglected, and may be purchased at a *nominal price*; where forests of the most productive and *valuable timber* grow and flourish luxuriantly; where orchards, overstocked with precious fruits, spread their bounties far and near: where rivers of *milk* and *honey flow in boundless tracts*, where happiness, peace, contentment and riches predominate.

3. The mechanic reads the like, and readily believes that employment is easily obtained, labour amply rewarded, money plentiful; in short, that every advantage tending to make a man rich and happy, is to be met with in the United States of America. Such is the language of these books, and what follows the perusal of them? Why the humble and happy farmer begins to feel a spirit for emigration—he looks upon his past days as lost—his labour of no avail; he casts a glance upon his homely cottage and the fields surrounding it—he views all with indifferent feelings—the cleanly-spread table, and other domestic comforts, are now disregarded; in secret, he contrasts his present life with the one he has just read; new scenes, new joys, new pleasures, stare him in the face; he allows no time to check the current of his feelings; ambition (till now a stranger to him) usurps her authority; he feels miserable, forgets old England and all her advantages, calls upon his relatives and friends, tells them he is about to proceed to the land of independence and liberty; and, shaking their hands, forgets not to mention that they may soon expect to see him return with a fortune! Having gone thus far, he hastens on board the ship about to transport him across the Atlantic, carries his book with him, and during the passage, eagerly devours its contents, where he finds directions to proceed on his arrival at New-York to the Free Emigrant-office. The voyage over, he places his foot upon the promised land—takes a cursory glance at “the sights,” and proceeds without delay to the aforesaid Emigrant-office, where finding a great deal of respect paid him, he cannot refrain from laughing in his sleeve at his anticipated prosperity; his name, residence, age, religious principles, &c. are quickly asked, and as quickly consigned to a book.

4. It may be as well to give a description of this office. The proprietor's name is ———, formerly a resident of Somersetshire, England, where his relations still live, and has been a citizen of New-York about twelve years, “his office (he tells me) is established and

“carried on solely for the sake of philanthropy; he receives no remuneration for his services, but devotes his whole time in rendering assistance to “emigrants.” Is it reasonable to believe such a statement? Can any sensible man credit such assertions? No, it is well known that he is greatly interested in land in the Western States, that he acts as agent for the sale of these lands in concert with other parties, and derives ample remuneration for his services in sending emigrants to locate there. ——— is the author of the greater part of these publications, before alluded to, assisted by his friend ——— (whom I shall introduce shortly) and ——— and ——— of Bristol.

5. To return to ——— office. The emigrant having assisted the philanthropist as to his circumstances and intentions is thus addressed by him, “Well, “you can't do better than go to the Western States; land cheap and good; “timber and coals in abundance; “money not wanted; all other states “unhealthy, flat, low and unprofitable, “the Canadas particularly; people “starving there, and no liberty; under “the dominion of a king; we don't “want a king. Here, I can show you a “map of Canada, and you can see the “state of the country, and how “unhealthy it must be—you can “earn more in Ohio in half a day “than you can in seven days in New- “York; best meat only two cents. per “pound; a good cottage four dollars per “month: you can't do better. A mechanic can save enough in two years “to purchase 100 acres of land, every “comfort, every happiness,—can go “there for five dollars, and earn the “amount on the journey; but stay, let “me read you a letter or two from “my friend, Mr. ———, he lives at “——, and may be depended upon.” Here, taking up a manuscript book, he reads some letters of ——— to the assembled emigrants, wherein the locality and advantages of the Western States are laid down and described in the most engaging and enticing language. On the announcement of this

joyful news, the emigrant can scarcely contain himself; his elated heart is ready to burst with joy, he makes every preparation for his journey, and leaves his friend, the philanthropist, with anticipations of success; at length he reaches the destined spot (having expended nearly twice the sum as stated by ———), where he finds the reverse of what his fond hopes had led him to believe; everything assumes an aspect of misery, wretchedness, and penury; most of the land is low, marshy, and not worth cultivation. There are numbers of English emigrants who have been *entrapped to the Ohio*, would gladly avail themselves of the *first opportunity of returning to the old country*, if they possessed the means; but, unfortunately, when once their money is expended, they have no hopes of ever doing so. It is a fact, worthy of record, that money can seldom be obtained for labour in the Western States; the truck system is carried on to a great extent. A mechanic, after working for three months without pay, is obliged to take a bill for three months more for part of his wages, receiving an order to procure goods for the remaining part, and is then obliged to pay about fifteen per cent. more for his goods than if he had his cash; most of the towns, too, are pretty well stocked with *shavers*, or *brokers*, ready at all times to *discount bills at an immense and ruinous rate of interest* to the poor mechanic. These and many more miseries are obliged to be endured, but this only affords a sketch of what the realities are. It is impossible to describe minutely the infamous impositions which are continually being practised on emigrants in the Western States, and more particularly by their own countrymen. I am daily seeing men who have been *led away by* ——— and his co-partners, that will leave these worthy and *immaculate* agents their dying curse. It is by men like these that so many poor families in England are induced to part with their property at a sacrifice, in order to embrace the infamous and false advice contained in the before-mentioned publications. I shall here

introduce to your notice, Mr. ——— of ———, in Ohio. This man was formerly a grocer and preacher, afterwards a schoolmaster at ———, then at ——— academy near ———, England, and now, I presume, he may be justly called "the schoolmaster abroad." He left England only in September, 1832, and, after his arrival here, went to reside in the Western States, where he now lives *independent*, or, as ——— tells me, "does nothing." How Mr. ——— can set himself up as a judge of agriculture, I am at a loss to know; how he can presume to advise his countrymen on the advantages of the Western States (having resided there but a few months) is a miracle to me. What can a man like this (whose former employment has been in keeping a rod in pickle for naughty boys at school) know of land, timber, and the like; doubtless he finds it a more profitable employment, in being concerned as part agent for the sale of lands in Ohio, than what he has heretofore been engaged in.

6. ——— and ——— are daily corresponding, and Howell's letters are deemed sufficient for transporting our valuable countrymen to the place of his (——) residence!!! The time is fast arriving when Englishmen will open their eyes and judge for themselves, without the interference of ——— and ———, ———, ———, and ———, their judgments and decrees will be treated with contempt, and all their base plans frustrated. Let these parties cast one look around them, and view the numbers of Englishmen betrayed by their publications, and if they can then rest happy and contented — well and good.

7. There is another pamphlet about to issue, written by ———, and sent already, I believe, to his friends in Bristol, ——— and ———. This publication, like the others (if I may judge from the manuscript which I have seen), is a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end. I would therefore advise you to place no reliance upon one sentence of it; facts are stubborn things: truth shall not be suppressed.

Fearlessly I challenge the authors, and candidly tell them that their books contain not only gross exaggerations, but direct falsehoods; and I will venture to say, that before six months are past, you will credit what I now assert. Beware, then, ere it be too late; caution may now avail; but if neglected, the blame falls upon your own shoulders. *Since the month of March last*, emigration has prevailed to a great extent, and the owners of vessels from Bristol have realized a vast deal of money. Now I tell you, my friends, that more than one-fourth of the emigrants that sailed from there have not, *after giving the Western and other States a fair trial*, and finding that they are here ready to follow their example. I have ascertained, from ocular demonstration, that every ship which has sailed from here, and bound for Europe, within the last two months, has been crowded with passengers, some of them having as many as 70 or 80. In the new packet ship *Roscoe*, which left New-York on the 8th instant, there were six of the most enterprising young men that the ancient city of Bristol can boast of, passengers. Having perused the numerous pamphlets in Bristol, describing the United States of America in the most glowing language, they were induced to leave their homes and situations, in anticipation of realizing some of the advantages which these publications had opened to their view. Accordingly, in March last, they left England with the most sanguine expectations of hope and success, carrying with them not only the highest testimonials of character, but every requisite for gaining a comfortable livelihood; they let no opportunity slip during their residence in America, in endeavouring to get employment—but in vain; they traversed the Western States (as advised by —), and met with no better encouragement, and having witnessed hundreds of their countrymen almost in a state of starvation, wisely resolved upon leaving a country (while they were in possession of the means for doing so), where beggary would soon overtake them. These men are, or will be shortly in Bristol, ready, willing and anxious at

all times to vouch for the accuracy of what I now offer to your notice. To them, then, I would request all persons desirous of emigration to apply for advice; they will give it cheerfully, readily, *without fee or reward*, reserving to themselves alone the satisfaction of having snatched from misery, ruin, and beggary, a fellow countryman. *I am known to many Englishmen, who have travelled for months through this country, and can get no employment*; they are now returned to New-York, with barely sufficient to keep them from the poor-house; gladly would they work on the roads in England, and offer what they now do. *There was a time when New-York might rank as one of the most flourishing cities on this side the Atlantic*; that time is past and gone; now hundreds of young men of *ingenuity and talent* are prowling the streets in search of employment, and can obtain none; the *alms-house* stands before them, and unless *fortune* befriends them, this must be their last resource. It is a melancholy fact, that previous to the first of July last, there were upwards of *seventeen hundred emigrants in the alms-house in New-York*. Such is the state of this country; there are *at this time hundreds out of employ*,—many an eye is strained in vain towards Old England, many a check is bedewed with the tear of repentance for the folly of having left a happy home for one of misery, penury, and wretchedness, and many a bitter curse escapes from the lips of the unfortunate emigrant, and is thrown upon the author of all his unhappiness. The poor man looks upon the white sails of a ship bound for Europe with feelings of remorse; he casts a retrospective view on his by-gone days—days passed in the society of those nearest and dearest to him; his home, friends and relatives are far away. Alas! he looks in vain—without money, without a home, without a friend; he can never hope to return to the spot of his birth; he pines away with grief, sickness overtakes him, he has no kind Christian to administer consolation in the hour of need—no dear friend to sooth his pain—po

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verty stares him in the face, and he leaves this world without a tear of sorrow or regret.

8. When I hear Englishmen tell me that *every person can get a living in America*, I answer readily—it is a fallacious idea. *Fortune* has befriended many, but there are thousands of my countrymen, residents here, living in *obscurity*, and *deprived of the common necessities of life*. These facts are not believed in England; the world, however, is getting enlightened; Englishmen are awakening from their slumbers, the march of intellect has achieved great things; and, before long, emigration to the United States of America will die away.

9. In conclusion, I beg to offer you the foregoing salutary hints, which, I trust, will have some weight in checking the distribution of those pamphlets already published. I have addressed you in humble language, and shall leave you to deliberate upon its intentions. At a future period I hope to be with you, and in the mean time I shall lose no opportunity of replying to any publications that may be issued detrimental to the interests of my countrymen.

10. If, after this warning, a mechanic, a labourer, or the like, who may be *getting good remuneration in England*, feels dissatisfied with his situation, advise him by all means to lose no time in making the best of his way to America, and he will soon receive an antidote for all his dissatisfied feelings.

11. With the *warmest wishes* for the welfare and happiness of you all—allow me to subscribe myself

Your faithful friend,

CAUSTIC, JUNIOR, IN AMERICA.

New-York, Sept. 1832.

CERTIFICATES.

We severally certify that we have perused the foregoing Address, and are ready to testify to the truth of the same—

Mr. Sayer, Bristol.

Smith, do.

Hartland, do.

Sydney, do.

Pooll, do.

Mr. Chandler, Bristol.

Johnson, do.

Sawyer, do.

Adlam, Taunton, Somerset.

D. Mathias, Cardiff, Wales.

Edwards, senr. Newport, Monmouth.

Edwards, junr, do. do.

Lloyd, do. do.

Harry, do. do.

Such is this address which, I am told by Mr. KNIGHT, it is my duty to refute, or acknowledge to be true. I do not grant this assumption of Mr. KNIGHT: I think myself at full liberty either to notice this thing or not to notice it; but, thinking that to notice it, especially in conjunction with what the lazy-boned race of impostors call my “damnable doctrine;” thinking that it may be useful to do this, I notice this Mr. “*Caustic*”; and, unlike the villanous part of my opponents, I have inserted his address at full length.

Now, then, let us see whether my work, called the “*EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*,” can have contributed to produce the evils here complained of. These evils have chiefly arisen from emigrants going to the Western States, or, properly speaking, the *back-woods*; and, can this Mr. KNIGHT say, that I have contributed towards the producing of those evils? When this Mr. KNIGHT shall have eaten ten wagon-loads of salt, in addition to the salt that he has already eaten, he will not, even then, have been able, with the aid and assistance of his friend “*Caustic*,” of “*great abilities*,” to do as much as I have done, to prevent Englishmen, of every description, from going to new settlements in America. My letter to Mr. BIRKBECK, contained in the third part of the “*YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA*,” actually prevented the ruin of thousands of English and Scotch farmers; prevented them from sharing in that sad fate, which I used my utmost endeavours to save him from, and for which endeavours, he repaid me with the foulest of calumny. In several parts of the “*YEAR'S RESIDENCE*” (written in 1818), I beseech my countrymen not to go far, by any

means, from the Atlantic coast, or from some great and populous place; and, in that very "EMIGRANT'S GUIDE," which this Mr. KNIGHT tells me has contributed towards the evils complained of by his friend "*Caustic*," who *must* be either liar or coward; for, if what he speaks be false, it is defamatory as well as false; it is malignant as well as false; therefore, it comes under the description of *lying*: and, if what he says be true, and if the truth be, as he says it is, necessary to be known to the whole nation; then he is a coward for disguising his name, and for causing to be printed at NEW-YORK a pamphlet which he circulates in England, most foully aspersing the characters of persons both at NEW-YORK and in England. In that very "EMIGRANT'S GUIDE," in page 98, Mr. KNIGHT would have found, if he had looked into it, the following paragraph:—

"57. With regard to the *best part* of "the United States to go to, that must, "in a great degree, depend on the pursuit of the party, and on the state of "his family, their age, and other circumstances. If a man intend to pursue a *trade*, some city or town is the scene for him. If farming be his "object, the country he must go to, "and his own judgment, will point out "the precise spot. As to which *State* "is best, I should prefer that of New-York. But, I exhort every Englishman to avoid *back woods*, *new countries*, and even *uncleared land*. Such a farm as that mentioned by Mr. Fullagar, is the thing for an Englishman. I advise all to go to *well-settled* parts "of the country, and not to a great distance from the sea. We do not know "how to clear woods, and cannot live "in *wigwams*. The lamentable fate of "those who followed the unfortunate "BIRKBECK, ought to be a warning to "all who dream of *prairies*, and of lofty "forests."

Now, can Mr. KNIGHT (whom I do not know) look at this, and not blush at his impertinence for having sent me such a note? He says that his friend "*Caustic*" was taken to the United States in consequence of his reading my

account of that country. Did he read this? Did he attend to what I said? No: and he finds fault of my writings, as Sir HARRY VERNEY did; not because he has found them to be *bad*; but because he has not read them. He is like the unbelievers in Scripture; not because the writings are unbelievable, but because they have not read them. If his friend "*Caustic*" expected to find a "land flowing with milk and honey," it was his own laziness that created the picture in his mind, and not any writings of mine. I know there are plenty of *land-sharks* in America; and that they have their partners in England to carry on the work of deception and plunder; but who has laboured as I have laboured to prevent the success of these *sharks*; and, I have put my *name* to my writings, while this skulking "*Caustic*" hides his. Poor BIRKBECK had a *land-shark* in company with him in London, before he sailed for America. I had to urge him not to go in the presence of this *land-shark*, and one of BIRKBECK's own daughters. But the fact is (and I will stop here to observe it), that it was *false pride* that was the ruin and destruction of Mr. BIRKBECK and the destruction of his family. He was a farmer on one of the finest farms in England, WANBOROUGH farm; he was a rich man still; but he was not so rich as he had been. He was, what I call a bull-frog-farmer; only he was in reality a somewhat learned, book-learned, and a very clever man. But, he was not contented with being merely a farmer; he was one of those who cannot think that it is proper that persons who have less talent, who are less personally gifted by nature than themselves, should be stationed above them in society. He wanted to say, SEBRIGHT, and COKE, and ALTHORP, without putting the "*Sir*," or the "*my Lord*." This is a most pernicious foible; it is a weakness inexcusable, in a man of sense, not to perceive that he exposes himself to contempt and ridicule by the silly desire of putting himself upon an equality with others in this sort of way. He was infected with this malady to a degree that made him quite ridiculous. The

FLOWERS were infected with the same malady. They had been at cattle-shows with "*Sebright*," with "*Coke*," with "*Althorp*," and with "*Bedford*;" and they used to talk of them as if they were brother graziers or breeders. When the peace came, it brought, amongst its blessings, the breaking-up of these sheep-shearings and cattle-breeding, and "*Sebright*," and "*Coke*," and "*Althorp*," and "*Bedford*," got back into their places again, and BIRKBECK and FLOWER got back into their places. This was what the latter could not stand. Though each of them in beautiful farms, and FLOWER's farm his own, England had become insipid; everything in it was bad; and they resolved to change countries, as FLOWER told me, in London, "to diminish their expense, and add to their comforts." They are both dead. The amiable family of BIRKBECK dispersed; his eldest son a common back-wood's labourer; old Mrs. FLOWER living in those back-woods, and GEORGE FLOWER leading the life of a back-wood's farmer.

There was another calamity, too, which arose out of the *false pride* of the bull-frogger. BIRKBECK was a farmer; and he ought to have brought up his children to manage farms. But, he did bring them up to be gentlemen and ladies; and, amongst other things, he introduced into his farm-house that curse of all curses, the *forte-piano*, which, as a parcel of wood and strings, is harmless, except that it is noisy; but, it brings along with it a personage called a "*governess*," which, in a farm-house, especially, is many degrees worse than *Mary Magdalen* ever was, together with the seven devils that were cast out of her. As to the particular *governess*, whom it was poor BIRKBECK's misfortune to introduce into that good old farm-house at WANBOROUGH; the evils arising from her introduction into BIRKBECK's house would form the subject of an Epic Poem, a thousand times more interesting than that of the *ILIAD* of HOMER; and, if it had not been for these plaguing politics, I should have tried my hand upon it long ago. My readers know, that the ten years' Trojan war arose out

of a quarrel between ACHILLES and somebody else, because that somebody took a girl away from ACHILLES. Something very much of the same sort happened here. This governess was young, and, of course, an adept at music. BIRKBECK was a widower, with two daughters to be taught by this governess, who, while she, doubtless, charmed the chalk down (commonly called the hog's-back), and the lofty elm trees that surrounded the homestead; while her sweet sounds made the colts neigh, the lambs frisk, the pigs grunt, with a sort of rejoicing kind of bark; while she made the cocks crow, and the hens cackle, seems not entirely to have overlooked the master of the mansion; or, at least, he seems not to have overlooked her; and, when the expedition to ILLINOIS was determined on, my lady, the "*governess*," was to be of the happy party; and, who is to tell whether she were not really at the bottom of the cause of the expedition altogether; and that, too, for reasons which will readily enough suggest themselves to those who are capable of estimating the effects of false pride, when operating on a mind like that of Mr. BIRKBECK.

The party sailed: the party landed: the party proceeded to the ILLINOIS; but augmented in number by *one man*, and that one man, a YOUNG one. Mr. BIRKBECK himself related in his publication on the subject, the worse than gipsy-tramp of fifteen hundred miles; the sleeping together upon the ground by the side of fires made in the woods, the huddlings of three or four together under one blanket. At last, having arrived at the new garden of EDEN, Mr. GEORGE FLOWER, who was the young man just alluded to, and who had preceded the parties, a year before, on a voyage of discovery, was despatched from the happy spot to bring over his father and mother to participate in the almost celestial enjoyments of the place.

While he was absent in England, or on the seas, Mr. BIRKBECK discovered that the "*governess*" had formed an *unalterable attachment* to Mr. GEORGE FLOWER! By what signs he discovered

this, whether through his eyes or his ears; suffice it to say, that before Mr. GEORGE FLOWER returned, he had indubitable proof of the fact; and that, when that gentleman did return, and was about to enter the log-hut in which BIRKBECK was residing, the latter presented him with the two palms of his hands, called him everything that was vile, and forbade him to enter his dwelling. Hence, in a great measure, the failure, the misery, the ruin of the colony. Instead of joining their fortunes together, and pulling together in all things, and making the best of a bad undertaking: here were the two leaders of the expedition in open hostility to each other; each exposing the other to every act of injustice which unprincipled prowlers were ready at all times to commit against them; employing their ample fortunes to weaken each other, to degrade each other, and to despoil each other of those fortunes; and all this arising solely from that all damnable source, the *forte-piano*. The present occupier of WANBOROUGH farm, is almost my nearest neighbour down in Surrey. I do not know him personally; but, if his eye should happen to alight upon this, I beseech him to bear in mind these effects of a *forte-piano*, brought into *that* farm-house. A very proper thing in the house of a lord with a great estate; proper also in that of a baronet with great heaps of land around his mansion, clear of all "reprises"; may be bearable now and then in the house of a 'squire, who is very fat, and who has got a wife who will either have that or worse; player-folks and Jews, and loan-mongering people, are entitled to have everything devilish; but in the house of a farmer, or a tradesman, or of any one who has to live by his industry, and has a family to live by their industry also, this lump of wood and strings is the curse of all curses.

Now, then, coming back to Mr. KNIGHT and his complaint, it was not, after all, any fault of the American people, or the American country, that BIRKBECK and FLOWER failed in their enterprise; and, above all things, it was no fault of mine, who, in the first place,

did everything to prevent them themselves from going to the *back-woods*, and afterwards to prevent others from following their example; nor have I ever yet seen one single publication, from the pen of any *American*, tending to induce Englishmen to go to the *back-woods*. There wanted nothing from the "*great talents*" of "*Junior Cautic*" to warn worthy and sensible people against such folly. What he says of these *land-sharks* may be true; but they could deceive nobody who was worth a straw; therefore, what he has written is either wholly false, or a cowardly libel, he having named the accused parties and not named himself.

So much, then, for the *back-woods* complaint; and, now for the rest of this address, in which we are told, that several young men quitted England in March, 1832, with the "*most sanguine expectations*": with the "*highest testimonials of character*;" that they used every endeavour to get *employment*, but in vain; that they travelled for months through the country to get employment; and that, not being able to get it, they went home again.

Now, in the first place, he tells us that those young men "*traversed the Western States*"; that is to say, the new countries. Then they had not read my writings; they had not read my "*EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*," or, they were conceited and obstinate fools. But, they could get *no employment*. Ah! But AT WHAT? That's the pinching question. Why, they could get no employment at scrawling upon paper, or at buying and selling. They were the "*most enterprising young men*." Aye, far too *enterprising*, I'll engage. But, did I ever advise *enterprising* young men to go to America? There requires no *enterprise*, if a man be prepared to strip off his clothes and go to work. Let Mr. KNIGHT read the advice given by me to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*: let him there see the numerous employments which a man may find in England, if he will but work. When these *enterprising* young men were traversing the Western States, and giving them a

fair trial, did they ask for employment at the chopping down of trees, or cutting off the limbs and carrying them together to be burned? Did they offer their services at the drawing of logs, and making houses with them; or at the sawing of trees into scantling or boards; or, at the splitting of trees into shingles and staves; or, at the spuddling up the ground amongst the stumps of trees, to plant potatoes or corn? They landed in March, and came back in September; and did they, in giving five thousand of miles of country a *fair trial*, ever show their disposition to do any one of these things for any man? No: and industrious Englishmen are to listen to the woful tales of these lazy-boned fellows! But, have I ever advised; does my "EMIGRANT'S GUIDE" advise anybody to go to America, who is not prepared to *work with his own hands*? Take the following passage, beginning at the bottom of page 141; and then say, whether, if these "*enterprising young men*" would have gone to America with the expectation of being able to live by the exercise of their *talents*; or in consequence of carrying with them "*high testimonials of character*."

"Mere clerks, or young men who call themselves such, and who have been used to live by mere sitting and writing at a desk a few hours of the day, are almost the only persons, except lawyers, attorneys, and doctors, that are not wanted in America. These persons lead easy lives: all men like easy lives, and the Americans as well as others; and the general prevalence of *book education* in that country gives it a native stock of *white-fingered idlers* quite sufficient for its wants. But if a young man, who has been what is called a clerk in England, can resolve to *strip off his coat* and bustle about in a *store*, there is no such young man who may not mend his lot by the change, and who may not marry without going and taking the hand of his bride, trembling all the while, lest they should starve together: and here I dismiss this letter, with a remark which all young men will find greatly useful if they attend

"to it. Women are very just persons: they never make any distinction with regard to *nation*: they take the party for what he is worth in their estimation without any extrinsic circumstances; and the girls in AMERICA are beautiful and unaffected: perfectly frank, and, at the same time, perfectly modest; but, when you make them the offer of your hand, be, for God's sake, prepared to give it, for wait they will not. In England we frequently hear of courtships of a quarter of a century; in that *anti-malthusian* country (where MALTHUS would certainly be burnt alive), a quarter of a year is deemed to be rather "*lengthy*."

Now, then, have I misled these enterprising young men; and if there be hundreds of them in the alms-house at NEW-YORK, it is not because they cannot get *employment*; but because they will not work at such employment as there is in the country, and a plenty of it, too. It is because they want to live without work; I mean labour with their hands and with their legs, a little smattering of book-learning having given them the conceit, that they ought to get a living by making other people work. It is because their heads are filled with notions of getting money without any of those exertions for which alone they are fit. It is not a thing new to me, to hear these complaints of *disappointment* on the part of those who go to America. It has always been the case; and I have always said the same thing upon the subject. In my "*YEAR'S RESIDENCE*," written in 1818, and which every Englishman should read before he goes across the Atlantic, Mr. KNIGHT would find the following passage:—

"397. But, some *go back* after they come from England; and the consul at New-York has thousands of applications from men who *want to go to Canada*; and little bands of them go off to that *fine country* very often. These are said to be *disappointed* people. Yes, they expected the people at New-York to come out in boats, I suppose, carry them on shore, and give up their dinners and beds to

"them! If they will *work*, they will soon find beds and dinners; if they will not, they ought to have none. What, did they expect to find here the same faces and the same posts and trees that they left behind them? Such foolish people are not worth notice. The *lazy*, whether male or female, all hate a government under which every one enjoys his earnings, and no more. Low, poor and miserable as they may be, their *principle* is precisely the same as that of the boroughmongers, and non-resident priests; namely, *to live without labour on the earnings of others*. The desire to live thus is almost universal: but with sluggards, thieves, boroughmongers, and non-resident priests, it is a *principle of action*. Ask a non-resident priest *why* he is a priest! He will say (for he has avowed it on the altar!) that he believes himself called by the Holy Ghost to take on him the care of souls. But put the thing close to him; push him hard; and you will find it was the *benefice*, the *money* and the *tithes*, that called him. Ask him what he wanted them for. That he might *live*, and live, too, *without work*. Oh! this work! It is an old saying, that, if the Devil find a fellow idle, he is sure to set him to work; a saying the truth of which the non-resident priests, seem to have done their utmost to establish."

That, I think, is a finisher for Mr. KNIGHT and his "*enterprising* young men," who have come back again; and it brings me at once into contact with one body of the "*RACE THAT WRITE*," in England, who are now, I am told, placarding about the streets, notices of animadversions on COBBETT'S DAMNABLE DOCTRINE. This doctrine is, that it is the lot of man, generally speaking, to labour, in some way or another; that no man, if he be able to work, has a right to live upon the labour of any other man, unless he perform for that other man some function or other, or give him something or other in return for that which he receives, and upon which he lives. This doctrine is, indeed, truly "*DAMNABLE*" to the lazy and

shifty part of mankind; to the spunging vagabonds who preach up equality of enjoyments, taking care all the while to say nothing about equality of labour; vagabonds who strut about, even in dandy clothes, upon the pence that they get out of the labour of those who daily sweat for their bread. Go to one of these vagabonds, congratulate him on the repeal of the malt-tax, the hop-tax, the soap-tax, the house and window-tax; tell him that the excise is wholly abolished, and the customs too; that the army and the police are disbanded; that the game-laws are repealed, and STURGES BOURNE'S bills; watch his countenance; see if it be not troubled, and covered with gloom instead of with delight. "What!" he will exclaim, "What is this, without a repeal of the taxes on knowledge?" Tell him that you had forgotten that, that all stamp-taxes are abolished too. You will see his features screw themselves up into a horrible grin. You will express your surprise, and retire to indulge your wonder at his dissatisfaction. As soon as you have gone he will burst out into this pithy soliloquy: "*The d—d fool don't see that I must go to work*!" This is his fear: the element in which he lives, is that of bad government, and consequent discontent. He wants something always: he wants a want of good and cheap government: he wants real ground of complaint on the parts of the people; and nothing does he fear so much as an end of that ground of complaint. Against vagabonds of this description the working people should take care to guard themselves; and this they can effectually do in no other way than that of refusing to give them their money. There is another description of impostors, against whom those who work ought to guard themselves; namely, those who prowl about, under the pretence of teaching them religion. Let them watch these men; and they will see, that, at last, it is some of their *money* that they want; that their object is to be well clothed, well lodged, well fed, out of their labour. A week or two

ago, being at BAGSHOT, I saw a fellow very well dressed in black clothes, with a bundle of penny pamphlets in his hand, standing out in the middle of the road, opposite the inn, bawling about faith and grace, and hell and the devil; calling upon the people to *buy* salvation while it was to be sold, and finishing with a "God bless the King, God bless the rulers of the land, God bless the people." Surrey is not a crack-skulled county like Yorkshire. People there think before they open their mouths. There was a small number of boys and men who stood and looked at this blaspheming hypocrite; and one of them, who was stripped to his shirt, being apparently going home to his breakfast from his work hard by, observed to the rest, "You see, that fellow gets better clothes than we can get."

These vagabonds take a different turn from the political vagabonds: these latter inculcate the doctrine, that every man ought to live as well as a lord, and that even the shopkeeper, who sells the shoes which are made by the journeyman shoemaker, is a sort of despoiler of that journeyman. And these vagabonds wheedle away the money from the journeyman in return for supplying him with these doctrines; that is to say, making him something worse off than he was before they took him in hand. The Methodist vagabonds, on the contrary, inculcate *abstinence*; inculcate content with oppression; inculcate the utility of suffering; the utility of hunger, thirst, and nakedness, in the ensuring of eternal salvation; and with the money which they extort for their preaching, they dress in the best of clothes, sleep on feather beds, eat roasted beef, and drink wine.

If the working people choose thus to be cheated by these two sets of impostors, there is nobody, that I know of, who has the power to prevent it; but, if they do choose to be abused and cheated in this manner, let them not complain of their wants and their sufferings. I do not blame them for hearing what either set of vagabonds have to say. All that I blame them for is, for giving them their money. It is

the lot of man to labour in some way or another, unless his forefathers have laboured for him; and, in that case, he has a right to enjoy the fruit of their labour. "He that will *not work*, neither shall he *eat*." This is the true Christian principle, as laid down by the great Apostle himself. Ask the Methodist vagabond to explain it to you; ask him, who lives upon that which ought to be your dinner, what St. PAUL meant; and he will tell you, that St. PAUL meant to include "work at the ministry," as the blasphemous lazy-bones will call it; but, then remind him that St. PAUL, in another place, says, that "the ministers should work with their own hands, that they might *not be chargeable* to any." These impostors set these precepts at defiance; they make use of hypocrisy in order to live upon the labour of others, and they make a considerable addition to that distress amongst the working people, which, God knows, is great enough without such addition.

Laziness; a hatred of work, is the great vice; it always has been the great vice of the world; and it is now more prevalent than ever, owing to the number of idlers created during the late war, and fastened upon the people, most unjustly, by the parliament. The love of ease is natural to man. We all seek to live at ease. Our Creator knew what was necessary to sustain and people the earth. He, therefore, decreed, that we should not be able to live without tilling that earth, and without making ourselves lodging and clothing. To labour he attached some degree of pain, from which we all endeavour to escape. But, by way of remuneration, he decreed that *health*, the greatest of all his blessings, should be attendant on this labour; and, I verily believe, that the working man; he who duly receives his hire, is, on an average, a much happier man than he who performs no bodily labour at all; and, to a certainty, he has less temptation to do wicked acts. Those who have read the Scriptures, and have not taken them upon trust from foppish declaimers, or from hypocritical vagabonds, who live upon their misinterpre-

tation, will see what care has there been taken to prevent the working man from being wronged of his due reward. Even the dumb companion of his toil, "the ox, is not to be muzzled as he treadeth out the corn." You can hardly open the book without seeing some injunction, some exhortation, to do ample justice, to take care of, to cherish, those who perform the labour, be it in what sort of work it may; nor can you open it without some menace, some curse pronounced on the heads of those who oppress the working people, or who withhold from them their due.

While, therefore, the love of ease has been implanted in our natures, for the wise purpose of *stimulating us to those exertions by which ease is obtained*, still the same wisdom has provided, that that degree of pain which is attendant on labour shall receive its due compensation; and, let the vagabonds, who call mine "*a damnable doctrine*;" let the hypocritical vagabonds remember the denunciations upon the *sluggard*, let them remember that the law of Moses decreed *stoning to death* to the son, whose parents should accuse him of laziness, gluttony, and stubbornness. If the law of Moses were in force now, in this kingdom, those political vagabonds who call mine a "*damnable doctrine*," would not be long alive, I believe, if they have any fathers and mothers just enough to bring them before the judges.

One more word to the working men, and with that I conclude; hear what the vagabonds have to say, if you like; hear them, if it amuse you; but never give them your money, though to the amount of a tenth part of a farthing, and never let them touch your victuals or your drink. Do everything that you legally can to cause your burdens to be lightened; but do not add to your burdens by suffering these vagabonds to tax you, who, if your burdens were lightened to the extent to which they ought to be, would look at the change with horror, because, then they must go to work themselves. Remember, I beseech you, the story of the fellow who, with a deplorably mournful coun-

tenance, went up to a lady who was walking in the *Phoenix-park*, at DUBLIN: "Pray, and please your ladyship," said he, all in agitation, "do give me three shillings directly, or I shall be compelled to do that, which, but to think of, sinks my very heart in my body." "Oh! Lord Jesus!" exclaimed the lady, running her hand into her pocket and pulling out the three shillings, which she put into his hand. Having discharged the duty of humanity, her female curiosity urged her to ask Mr. O'BRIEN (for he had given her his name) what horrible deed it was that he would have been compelled to do, if she had not given him the three shillings: "By Jases," said the base villain, with a gallows-looking smile upon his countenance, "I should have been compelled to go to *work*."

This is the horror of them all: state any opinion; say anything, do anything, no matter what, that has a tendency to compel them to go to work, and they will kill you and drink your warm blood, if they can. Law! there is no law in a country where such swarms of villains can walk about and be seen to eat and drink and to wear clothes, without any visible signs of coming at those victuals and that clothing by honest means. The magistrates are armed with sufficient powers to put a stop to this monstrous evil, and yet they suffer it to go on. The political part of these devourers sometimes propose a republican Government; but, when they get to America, we see that that does not suit them. Mr. "*Caustic, junior*," wishes to get back to his "*nearest and dearest connexions*" again; namely, somebody that will work for victuals for him to eat, while he is asleep. There was a fellow in *Long Island*, who came from some part of the West of England, who came to me, and asked me to give him some money; said he was just landed, and was run out. "Well," said I, "here is a hoe: go and help my men hoe corn." He demurred; and when I told him that I would give him nothing, he went away grumbling, and said, "D—n your free country, if this is a free country."

And this is their notion; and nothing in this world will ever please them, till they can find a Government that will feed them like fattening hogs in a sty, supply them well with swill, and with a bed to sleep in, and, until they find this, they will keep railing against the "*damnable doctrine of Cobbett.*"

WM. COBBETT.

EDUCATION.

It is wrong to make use of this word as applicable to the matter now so much talked of; because "*education*" means "*bringing up*," or, "*rearing up*." This thing, therefore, ought to be called, as the greater number of its advocates call it, "*headikashon*," which means, scrawling upon paper with a pen, and gabbling over words printed upon paper; it signifying nothing: what sort of scrawling it is, or what are the words which are printed upon paper; whether the scrawling be legible or not; whether the right letters be put into the words that are intended to be made, or whether the gabbling be of a *Magdalen Hymn*, or of a smutty ballad: still it is all "*headikashon*": and there are persons so thoughtless, or so stupid, or so much in error as to the matter, as to think that I am wrong in being opposed to this ridiculous humbug being upheld at the expense of a tax laid on the public at large.

One great objection that I have to the "*headikashon*" is, that it would compel the industrious part of the people to maintain a brace of lazy ones in each parish, at the least, under the names of "*schoolmaster*" and "*schoolmistress*," who, amongst other things, would naturally set their pupils the most vicious of all possible examples. However, more of this another time: at present I shall content myself with shorter matter.

I have pledged myself to maintain my doctrine with regard to this "*headikashon-scheme*." But, at present, I will just state a few propositions.

1. That it is a foolish, as well as a base falsehood, to say that I, who pub-

lish, and sell, and get a great deal of money by, spelling-books, grammars, and dictionaries, of all of which I am the author; it is a foolish, as well as a base, falsehood to say, that I wish to prevent young people from acquiring knowledge from books; I, who have so often expressed my delight at being thanked by young men, amongst the working people, who had acquired their learning from my books. I, who have been thanked by hundreds and hundreds of parents for THE GOOD WHICH THEIR SONS HAVE DERIVED FROM READING MY ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

2. That this foolish and malignant lie is, however, very natural to come from those who cannot answer that which I have written on the subject. They abuse, but they do not answer; and this is the case with all people who are defeated in argument.
3. That it was a very mean act in Lord ALTHORP to say, especially as the rules of the House would not allow me to answer him, that I was "an enemy to education." If this had been said by a fool, I should have only laughed at it; but he knew the meaning of words, and he ought not to have been guilty of such misrepresentation, an instance of the like of which no man ever saw in me.
4. That it was an act of great meanness on the part of the Ministers, all taken together, to make to CANT that supple bend of the knee which they made in proposing the grant of 20,000*l.*, which I trust the House of Commons is not stupid and base enough to repeat.

But, again I call for an answer to my letter to Mr. DUN. If any man be able to answer it, it is Mr. DUN himself; and I have nothing to write till that letter be answered. I have, however, a few questions to put to these advocates of "*headikashon*," which "*hedikashon*," observe, is to be a national affair.

tam beagles to come and help me to worry out of their lives the accursed hares that are beginning to eat my cabbagees down in Surrey. Being obliged to stop at PENENDEN HEATH, in order to perform my literary duties, and Mr. WHITTLE's address being at *Bolt-court*, amongst, God knows how many bushels full of papers, and my secretary being in Sussex, it was impossible to get at the address, and, therefore, its insertion has been thus delayed. It does the writer great honour, and all that it wants is an expression of contempt sufficiently strong towards the base upstart vermin who have been so long working against him. These vermin are not to be passed over in silence, because they be mean and vile; they are to be lashed like curs, or trodden upon like snakes or toads: they are to have no forbearance shown them on account of their wealth: I always call them "*rich ruffians*" from COVENTRY to MANCHESTER, and from MANCHESTER to LEEDS; and I hate the man who has the smallest degree of respect for them merely on account of their wealth. I always told Mr. WHITTLE, that the way to deal with these ruffians was to treat them like dogs; cur-dogs, and pug-dogs, and poodles, and such useless devils; not like spaniels and pointers and greyhounds and fox-hounds and harriers, and particularly beagles: these are to be treated with gentleness at all times, and ought to be caressed when they do well: kicks and cuffs, broomsticks and hedge-stakes, are the things applicable to the others. If Mr. WHITTLE should take up the pen again, which I most anxiously hope he will, I strongly recommend this to his attention. I speak from pretty long experience; you must go on, and not think the rascals beneath your notice any more than you do a paper that is going to attack you. When I came home from America in 1800, a very fat sinecure placeman told me that I should get on at a great pace, if I took the right course; "but," said he, speaking of the Ministers of that day, "we have but two methods here: one is to *kiss*" (naming a certain part of the bodies of the Ministers), "or, to

kick them. I have chosen the former: "you must do which you like." "Oh, then!" said I, "by — I shall *kick*." "Then," said he, "you will have a rough time of it, I can tell you." He was, in all respects but his politics, as good a man as ever I have known in my life; and I do not believe that even his politics, though they were very bitter, led him to commit any act of severity or injury to any one, that he could possibly avoid without danger to himself. He died, I was told, leaving more than two hundred thousand pounds. He had no earthly trouble to annoy him, that any one could perceive. As he predicted, I have had a very *rough time of it*; but I verily believe, that I had more happiness in one of the thirty years that I knew him, than he had during the whole of those thirty years. Of so very little consequence are great masses of money in producing happiness to their possessors. Therefore, Mr. WHITTLE, if you take up the pen again, let me advise you to *kick*.

"To the Reformers of South Lancashire.

"GENTLEMEN,—The change in the proprietorship of the *Advertiser*, which was announced last week, has put an end to my connexion with the paper; and it is no longer in the capacity of editor, but by the permission of the present proprietor, that I have this opportunity of a farewell address to you. It would be a very unworthy affectation of Stoicism to pretend that I resign, without some emotion, the post which I have for some time occupied in your service. The soldier who meets death on the spot where he seeks it as the means of honour, does not quit life without pain or without regret; and, though I have held *my* post by a tenure as precarious as is the life of a soldier, the very dangers and difficulties by which the service has been surrounded have in some degree endeared it to me. I forfeit my position, however, to the chances of war, and neither by *my* desertion, nor by *your* distrust of me; for never did any man retire from a public stage consoled by more ho-

"nourable testimonies of public favour.

"When I commenced the publication of the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, my first address to you was the address of an unknown stranger. I had not a dozen personal friends in the town; and among the few beyond these who were conscious of my existence in it, I ranked perhaps more who were hostile than indifferent; for I need not tell you, that there is nothing which more attracts hostility than any symptoms of political independence. The personal friends to whom I allude, know how little I have trespassed on them for exertions in my favour. I relied upon no such factitious aid. I made my appeal on the ground of public principle, to you, the reformers of Lancashire. I knew you could not fail to recognise, where it existed, the same honesty of purpose, which gives energy and steadiness to your own exertions; and I have received a thousand favourable testimonies, that you have done me the honour (the justice, let me say) to recognise such honesty of purpose in me. Of the innumerable inquiries from all quarters, the warm, the kind, the even anxious inquiries, which have been made, whether the *Advertiser* was still to be published, and still to be continued in my hands, I need only now say, that it is these which have given me the erect mien and cheerful aspect which, amid all the rumours, the whisperings, the slanders, so long besetting the *Advertiser*, have confounded the malice of those who, for your sake, have been my enemies. The paper, indeed, has passed into other hands. One of the parties who has formerly suffered by it, has chosen, as he had good right to do, to take it, in order to indemnify himself; but let me relate with gratitude, as well as pride, that, if he had not determined so to do, the paper would have been mine. Let me relate, in justice to others more than to myself, and in high honour of the public spirit of Lancashire, that fifteen gentlemen, to hardly one of

whom I was known when I commenced the publication of the *Advertiser*, and with some of whom I can hardly be said to be personally acquainted at this hour; that these gentlemen voluntarily entered into a subscription for the purpose of purchasing the paper, and placing it at my disposal; that they offered a thousand pounds for the purchase of the stock and copyright, with a view to this object; and that they did this without any security but their experience of my public conduct, and without any stipulation, except that I should employ their money in the public service, and repay them as I could find in that service the means of doing so. I should be glad here to name them in succession, that, not in the columns of this paper, but in your grateful remembrance, their names, coupled with the act, might be firmly recorded; but it was not to their own honour, but to your cause, that they dedicated this offering; and they will be better pleased to accept in silence the warm thanks which I here take the liberty to offer them in your name as well as my own.

"Private treachery is a very poor foundation for public spirit; and as I hope I may assume without presumption, that my good fame has some connexion with your cause, permit me here to vindicate it from a groundless aspersion cast upon it, that in making the paper the medium of your sentiments, I in any degree betrayed the interests or violated the confidence of its proprietors.

"As to the losses and embarrassments of the paper, with the exception of the expenses of Mr. Taylor's action, they had mainly accrued before my connexion with it. I found the partnership deeply in debt, the paper in ruin, and losing a large sum weekly. As a last experiment, it was agreed to conduct it for one month. The experiment succeeded. Since my connexion with it, in spite of the embarrassments of old encumbrances; in spite of the innumerable disadvantages of a proprietary at variance sometimes

"with me and sometimes with one
 "another; and of management under
 "the control of no master, and no one
 "head, the advertisements have more
 "than doubled; the circulation in two
 "years had nearly trebled; the paper,
 "setting aside its old engagements, has
 "been uniformly productive of profit;
 "it has been made to occupy a station
 "such as no radical paper in this coun-
 "ty ever occupied before; and, as the
 "last proof, the proprietor who takes
 "the paper now confessedly with a view
 "to profit, gives a pledge 'that there
 "shall be no abatement of the efforts
 "which have secured for it the popu-
 "larity that it now possesses.' And
 "this pledge I am sure he will be
 "convinced it is for his interest to
 "redeem.

"So much for the sacrifice of interest.

"Now for the breach of confidence. It

"is said, on the ground of a speech of

"Mr. Williams (the misrepresentation

"of an advocate) that I alienated the

"proprietors by making a sudden

"wheel-about in the politics of the

"paper. The paper in which I now

"write is the property of one of the

"parties who originally contracted with

"me, and who is alleged to have been

"so alienated. I publish under his eye,

"I say nothing of his present declara-

"tion in favour of my principles; but

"I say, and by his consent to this publi-

"cation he confirms it, that I stipulated

"for the uncontrolled expression of my

"own opinions in the paper, with the

"plainest avowal of what those opinions

"were; and that it was not to the prin-

"ciples of the paper, but to the warmth

"of particular expressions, and to the

"temerity of particular acts, that these

"parties ever took exception. I was as

"frank with them as I am with you.

"There has been no dishonour in any

"part of my conduct towards them;

"my own interest has been always the

"last to be consulted; I have been no

"squanderer, and I am proud to add

"that I leave their service as poor as I

"entered it.

"I am conscious, however, that

"though this imputation touches me,

"it was aimed at the future conduct of

"the paper. Upon that topic also,

"permit me to say a word or two. It

"shall be no part of mine to attempt to

"raise difficulties in the way of my suc-

"cessor, whoever he may be. The pro-

"prietor pledges himself that the paper

"shall be what it has been. He makes

"that pledge to parties too deeply, too

"warmly interested, to be liable to de-

"ception; to parties who know that, if

"the *Advertiser* cease to be their advo-

"cate, they have no advocate in the

"South of Lancashire. If I were in the

"confidence of the proprietor upon this

"point, as I am not; and, if my suc-

"cessor were to be my tried friend, I

"question whether I should take the

"liberty to recommend him to you.

"My own experience warrants me in

"the assurance that he will be judged

"by you with candour; and that if he

"be found deserving, he will be sup-

"ported by you most generously. It is

"thus that I have been judged; and

"thus that I have been supported. It

"is *you* who have given me such station

"as I occupy; it is *you* who have raised

"me from utter obscurity to some de-

"gree of credit and reputation; it is

"*your* support that has secured for me

"those flattering testimonies to which

"I have before alluded; it is *you* who

"have recommended me to some of the

"associations that are most honourable

"to me, and most valued by me; it is

"*you* who have given me the means

"and the opportunity of recommending

"myself to the friendship (if there is

"not too much assumption in the word)

"of the first of Englishmen, of him

"whose friendship in future years will

"be deemed an honour to any man that

"breathes.

"The good old laws of England

"make it an impeachment of any man's

"character, that he does not provide

"himself with the obvious means of

"livelihood. To that, the first duty of

"an honest citizen, I must now address

"myself; and it may be that I shall

"have to seek a livelihood in such a

"manner as will prevent me from ap-

"pearing prominently in the public

"cause; for I shall take no part in

"politics for the sake of notoriety, nor

" attempt to act in a position where I
 " cannot act with effect. Of this you
 " may be certainly assured, that I will
 " return to the plough, the use of which
 " is always unequivocal, at which I
 " have formerly worked with pleasure,
 " at which I learned the independence
 " which has made me useful to you,
 " rather than be connected for a week
 " with any political publication, the
 " object of which is not to make the
 " plough and the shuttle more produc-
 " tive to those who guide them. But
 " howsoever, and wheresoever, I may
 " be engaged, you shall hear nothing
 " of me unworthy of the honour you
 " have shown me. In junctures of great
 " moment, and perhaps of some danger ;
 " under scorn and obloquy ; in the
 " strife of angry passions ; at a distance
 " from all that was most dear and con-
 " soling to me ; and under the pressure
 " of domestic affliction, of more than
 " ordinary severity, I have stood beside
 " you ; but to the last hour of my life
 " the memory of the struggles we have
 " shared together, will be among the
 " proudest and most grateful recollec-
 " tions of

" Your faithful servant,

" JAMES WHITTLE."

REGISTER,

AND IN VOLUMES.

FROM volume 72, which begins with
 the 2d of April, 1831, to volume 81,
 which ends with the month of October,
 1833, there are, as yet, no tables of con-
 tents and titles printed ; so that those
 gentlemen who think it worth while to
 preserve their numbers and put them
 into volumes, cannot have done this to
 their satisfaction. I regret this exceed-
 ingly ; but I cannot help it, and I could
 not help it. A man cannot do the things
 that I do, and be, at all times, quite in
 order as to these mechanical matters. I
 will make reparation as far as I can,
 and I hope that I have now so fixed the
 matter, that every future volume that it
 shall please God to give me health to
 write, will have its table of contents
 and the title-page forming the last leaf

of the volume. With regard to the
past, I expressed my intention of print-
 ing the title-page and table of contents
 of one of these volumes at the end of
 every *Register*, until they were all
 printed ; but, on consulting with my
 printer as to the manner of doing it,
 and considering that this process would
 require *ten weeks* to perfect the job, I
 have determined upon printing the
 whole together, and to publish them in
 the form of a pamphlet. I would *give*
these pamphlets away, if I could ; but
 this I cannot do, without exposing my-
 self to being laughed at by persons who
 would come and pretend that they have
 ten volumes to bind up, and who would,
 on that ground, take the pamphlets to
 light their pipes or cigars with. There-
 fore, I must *sell* them ; but, the price
 shall be only *threepence*, which is only
 one little degree above the pipe-lighting
 price. However, if any gentleman,
 whom I personally know, will write to
 me, for these title-pages and tables of
 contents, I will send them to him for
 nothing and postage free. This is all
 that I can do to make reparation for my
 neglect, for which I beg pardon, heartily
 wishing that my example in this respect
 may find followers in those who have
 committed such manifold sins and
 wickednesses against me.

With regard to back numbers and
 volumes of the *Register*, the state of the
 case is this : back NUMBERS I have
 none, and, therefore, can sell none. As
 to back VOLUMES, I stand thus. From
 volume 72, beginning as above-men-
 tioned, to volume 81, which is just
 concluded, making the ten last volumes,
 I have about forty complete sets. These
 sets, each consisting of ten volumes,
 very well bound in boards, I sell, or ra-
 ther, Mr. DEAN sells, at *four pounds*
four shillings ; and, I ought to observe
 here, that, though I do hear of book
 publishers, who sell to what is called
institutes and *subscription libraries*, and
 the like, and, indeed, to individuals for
 ready money ; though I do hear of book
 publishers, who do, in such cases, sell
 their books under the usual retail price,
 I never did it in my life, and I never
 will. It is right that the bookseller,

who has to retail books, or to furnish them to the country, should have his full profit; and that profit he could not have, on my books, if I were to sell to other persons at a lower rate than he is enabled to sell at. Therefore, not only with regard to these volumes of the *Register*, but with regard to all the rest of my books, it is just as well for any person to purchase of a bookseller, as it is for him to purchase at *Bolt-court*.

With regard to those volumes of the *Register*, which go before volume 72, I have no complete set, nor anything approaching it. In some cases I have several copies of a volume; in other cases I have none; but, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* having so boldly asserted that the *close of my life natural as well as political* is close at hand; and, as it is very certain that, after that close arrive, I shall be no more able to write *Registers* than he is now, gentlemen who wish to have complete sets of the work, and who have now broken sets, are, of course, beginning to hunt about to fill up their gaps. I will, therefore, prepare a list of all the volumes from the beginning up to volume 71 inclusive, and I will deposit that list with Mr. JOHN DEAN, who now has the charge of my bookselling and publishing business at *Bolt-court*: so that any gentleman that will please to call upon him, will see whether his gap can be filled up by us. All these back volumes will be sold by retail at 8s. 6d. each, bound in boards, and at no other price except to booksellers, to whom I shall sell them, of course, at that price which I shall think just. I have never grudged them their profit; and, had there not been great difficulty in departing from the customs and the rules of the bookselling business, I should have had no objection to make them a greater abatement than that regular abatement that I have always made. I hold it to be a great departure from that fair dealing, which has always hitherto distinguished this branch of business, to retail a book under the fixed price; and it is one of the worse signs of the times that this thing is now done in certain cases. It is one of the pleasant and honourable things belonging

to the productions of the press, that they have a fixed and unalterable price; that there is no rascally cheapening and chaffering and lying across the counter of a bookseller; but, if it once come to the selling of a book (when new) at a lower price than the fixed price, whether for ready money or not ready money, the bookseller's shop comes down to a level with the shop of the broker, or that of the blaspheming and diabolical Jew: and *Rosemary-lane* will be quite as respectable as *Paternoster-row*.

ASSESSED TAXES.

It is impossible for me not to wish for the repeal of these taxes. It would not become me to give any recommendation with regard to the means of getting rid of them; but, I must just observe, that the article which was inserted in the last *Register* from the *Morning Chronicle*, condemning the ASSOCIATIONS, and calling upon the tax-eaters to form counter-associations, would not have been inserted in the *Register*, except for the purpose of exposing its impudence, if I had been near to the printing-office. This is certainly the most impudent thing that ever even the Whigs attempted to do. When they were in danger of losing their places, they cried out to the people to associate in all sorts of ways; and Lord FITZWILLIAM, one of their principal supporters, led the way in declaring that he would pay no more taxes until their measure was carried; that is to say, until the Reform Bill should be passed.

Now, what did the people want the Reform Bill for? They wanted it, in order that their burdens might be lightened; and they really wanted it for nothing else. They did not want it for the purpose of extending the right of voting, if that right of voting was to produce them no benefit. They wanted it, that they might, through it, obtain a relief from taxation, and thereby be made better off. And, if they now find that the relief which it has obtained them is a mere mockery, they have a great deal more reason to form such

associations than they had before the Reform Bill was passed; not less reason, but more reason; and yet this hack newspaper has now found out, that, if these associations succeed in their object, there is an end of the Government altogether.

It is very true, that if the Government give way with regard to this tax, it would be compelled to give way with regard to other taxes; and most assuredly it will, and it must give way, or the country will be convulsed. The Government collects, they say, forty-seven millions a-year into the Exchequer. Add the expense of collection, and then there are about fifty-one millions a-year. We are told of the *immense resources* of the kingdom. They are so; and they always have been so: it always was the most wealthy country in the world. But, immense as these resources are, they are not absolutely endless; and they must be absolutely endless before the annual drain of fifty millions a-year can cease to produce depression in every part of the kingdom. We are told, that a much greater amount of taxes was collected during the war. Suppose it were then seventy millions, it took but half the number of bushels of wheat to pay those taxes, which it would now require to pay them. The seventy millions of taxes during the war amounted to no more than thirty-five millions of the taxes of the present day. This is the cause of the ruin: this is the cause of all the discontents; which threaten the total annihilation of this body of nobility and gentry, and of this form of government in England.

The nobility and gentry and clergy seem to me to have entered into a solemn league and covenant to effect their own destruction. It is as clear as daylight, that either they must be overthrown, or that the Jews must be reduced to a moderate bulk. The infernal Jews and usurers are not seen by the people. One pension, or one sinecure, is more a subject of complaint than the whole thirty millions annually swallowed up by the Jews and other devils of *Change-alley*. It is quite amusing to see how quietly the

money-dealing villains go and thrust noblemen and gentlemen out of their estates. Aye, and pass for good and generous gentlemen, too, by a liberal distribution of a small part of the money, which this stupid nobility and gentry have enabled them to take out of the pockets of the people.

These associators against the assessed taxes will, probably, for the far greater part, cry out for "NATIONAL FAITH" as loudly as the stupid nobility and gentry themselves, or even as loudly as the cursed old HUNKSES, men and women, who send up their money to buy quarters of hundreds in the funds. How are these people to look the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the face? How is he to pay the interest of the debt, if we withhold from him the means of paying the interest with? "Oh!" say they, "but he can disband part of the army." No; he cannot, for that is necessary to enable him to collect the malt-tax, and other taxes; for, if it were not for that army, does any man believe, that an exciseman would dare to show his nose, if he attempted to prevent any man in the country from making malt? In short, it is all debt altogether. Poor rates, police and all is debt. As JOHN SWANN said to me seven-and-twenty years ago, there can be no freedom in a country where fifty millions a-year are collected in taxes; and we have this simple choice; submit to the taxes themselves, or take two-thirds from the interest of the debt.

For my part, if I were Chancellor of the Exchequer, I would have a very easy task of it: for, whenever a motion were made for taking off a tax; for instance, when Sir W. INGILBY shall move, as he has promised, to take off the malt tax, which he probably will do in somewhat the following words:—

"Resolved, That it is expedient that
"the taxes upon malt be re-
"pealed."

The motion being made, I would by no means oppose it; but would move, as an amendment, to leave out the full point at the end of the sentence, put a comma in its stead, and add the following words:; "as soon as the annual

"charge on account of the debt, shall not exceed twenty-four millions."

That would be a silencer for those "national faith" gentlemen who still want the malt tax repealed. They would then, though it is hard to say to what extent their timidity might lead them, begin to say, that the question about reducing the interest of the debt ought to be entertained and discussed. I intend, God willing, to endeavour to prevail upon the House of Commons to entertain it for a little while, at any rate.

As to the bellowers for taking off the house and window-tax, without, at the same time, saying that they will stand by the minister in lopping off the pensions and sinecures, in reducing all salaries and pay, and in reducing the interest of the debt, I despise them from the bottom of my heart; and I am utterly astonished, that Lord ALTHORP does not answer the deputations by asking them, whether they really mean that he is to pay the interest of the debt *out of his pocket*! They might hesitate, to be sure; they might tell him that he has a great deal more than he can want for his own consumption; that he has the devil and all of horses and dogs, and cows and oxen and sheep and fine fat pigs; a great many more than he can want: but he might tell them, in the first place, that his mind has been brought to this size of possession; and that these things are just as necessary to him as their broadcloth coats, and their remarkably highly-polished Wellington boots, are to them; and that the dog or the mongrel that trips along at their heels, and that gives them such light by standing upon its hind legs, and holding out its paw so sensibly, to make it with that of its more tall two-legged fellow-creature, is no more necessary to them than his pack of hounds is to him; and that, with regard to his ruined cattle and the rest, though not absolutely necessary to his bare existence, still they constitute the goods of the farm, and, that they would find, if they became acquainted with farmers, that they were a description of persons more ready to part with the goods

of their homestead, in a *give-away* style, than shopkeepers are to part, in the same style, with the goods in their shop.

This argument failing, they might begin to point out to him how he could make savings; but here he would beat them to a certainty; for there are no savings that he could make, that would enable him to take off taxes to any considerable amount without a reduction of the interest of the debt; and I have always been surprised that he never brought them to that point at once. That is the point that I would bring them to. I would not give them time to speak, only just to tell me, that they wanted me to take off a tax.

CHANCELLOR (*bowing and smiling*): Gentlemen, I am very happy to see you. You want the house and window tax taken off, I understand.

MR. BURN-CRUST. Yes, my Lord, it is a great oppression: it is partial, vexatious, burdensome, ruinous; and I do not sell half the

CHANCELLOR. Enough, enough, sir; quite enough. You cannot be more anxious to have the tax taken off, than I am to take it off. The ease and happiness of his Majesty's subjects being the last thing I think of at night, and the first thing in the morning when I open my eyes; but

MR. RUMP STEAK (*Aside to Mr. Thimble*). I say, you, what a civil and kind man he is!

CHANCELLOR..... I cannot yield to these anxious desires of my heart, as long as I have this heavy interest of debt to pay. Therefore, gentlemen, tell me plainly, do you wish me to pay the interest of the debt in full, or do you not?

MR. CHISEL. Why, my Lord, there are different opinions about that: for, my Lord,.....

CHANCELLOR. I have no time for disputation, or for reasoning. Give me a plain answer, and I will give you one; give me yes, or no; and you shall have yes, or no, from me.

MR. SUGAR PLUM. But, my Lord, I think I can show your lordship that

CHANCELLOR. No, sir, you cannot show me; I have no time.

Enter Messenger, the five minutes being up.

MESSENGER. My Lord, a deputation from the malt-tax committee, coming from HENDERSON'S hotel to wait upon your lordship.

CHANCELLOR. I'll wait upon them immediately, my compliments. Good morning, gentlemen. (*A low bow, and exit*).

This is just the way that I would serve them. I would make the messenger hold his watch in his hand, and at the end of five minutes he should come in; I would have no *parler pour parler*. They should come to the point at once; and then we should both know what we were at. They should not torment me with applications to perform impossibilities, and I waste my time in shuffling them off, feeding them with half hopes, and laying up for myself an inexhaustible treasure of newspaper misrepresentation and disputation. I shall not be Chancellor of the Exchequer; but, if I were, this is precisely what I would do in this case, and in every other case of the same description. I would, in no case, give them more than five minutes; and, perhaps, not more than two. I would disdain to listen to men for a moment who would tell me, that they wished me to pay the interest of the debt, and, at the same time, ask me to divest myself of the means of paying it.

THE SPY SYSTEM.

(*From the True Sun of 10. Oct. 1833.*)

ABOUT a hundred gentlemen sat down to a dinner at the Old King's Head, Walworth-road, given to celebrate the detection of the spy system in the new police force, attributable chiefly to the exertions of Mr. Cobbett in the House of Commons; Mr. Rogers in the chair, supported by Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Carpenter, Mr. Nicholson, and several other gentlemen of similar principles. After the cloth was removed, the Chairman announced to the company that he

had several toasts before him, which the stewards had prepared, and which he was sure would be drunk with cordiality and enthusiasm.

The first toast was, "The People, the genuine source of legitimate power," introduced in an appropriate speech, and drank with three times three.

The next toast was, "William Cobbett, Member of Parliament for Oldham," which was drank with we know not how many rounds of applause, and the most enthusiastic cheering. As soon as this had subsided,

Mr. COBBETT rose, and, after three or four more rounds of applause, he proceeded to address the meeting. As he was for sincerity in everything, he would not, he said, pretend that he did not feel himself to be worthy, in some degree, of the reception his name had met with from the company; but, at the same time that he said this, it must not be forgotten that he would have been wholly unable to effect what had been done, in the case of Popay, had it not been for the spirit, the intelligence, the firmness, and the honesty of the working men of Walworth and Camberwell.—(Great cheering.) That was not to be forgotten. Had it not been for the way in which the petitioners had proved their case before the committee of the House of Commons, the spy system in the police would have remained undiscovered. He (Mr. Cobbett) had said, from the beginning, that this police force was not one for protecting persons and property, but that it was one for political purposes, and a system of Bourbon espionage. But it would have been useless for him merely to affirm this, however sure he might have been of the facts, had he been unable to bring forward facts to prove that this was really its purpose. That had now been done by the petitioners of Walworth and Camberwell; and though there were several gentlemen on the committee who had the strongest reasons for hoping that the allegations in the petition would not be proved, they had all admitted that every statement in it had been fully and satisfactorily authenticated.—(Cheers.) Mr. Cobbett then adverted to the report

of former committees, and asked the company, if they had ever before heard of the report of a committee, in which it was admitted that the allegations contained in a petition, impugning the conduct of the Government or any subordinate authorities, had been fully made out?—(Never, never!) To be sure they had not. It had always been an object with committees to suppress such cases, and either a denial of the petition, or an evasive sort of a reply to it, had always been laid on the table of the House of Commons. In this committee, however, the inquiry had been conducted with fairness, and he could bring no accusation against a single member of it. (Cheers). What was said when the report was brought up? Oh! it was said, the hon. Member must recollect that there are two other committees sitting upon the police; and it is not right, therefore, that he should make any remarks upon the conduct of that body, until those committees have made their reports. Oh! said Mr. Cobbett, but I do not happen to be a member of either of these committees. I know nothing of the facts that may be laid before those committees; but I do know that facts have been laid before the one of which I am a member. I know that every allegation in the petition has been fully proved, that the police are employed as spies upon the people, and that these spies are paid *as spies* out of the people's money, which we have received from the Treasury, through the commissioner and superintendent, into the pocket of the miscreant Popay. (Cheers). Mr. Cobbett then adverted more particularly to the offences of which Popay had been proved to have been guilty, and insisted that justice could not be done until he was prosecuted for sedition. He had not only endeavoured to incite the people to acts of hostility against "the damned Government," but he had gone so far as to incite some of the members of the House to the assassination of Mr. Stan- ley, a minister and a member of the House of Commons, which rendered the offence an act of petty treason. Sir Charles Wolseley, he remarked, had

been prosecuted and imprisoned for a much less offence than this: and the petitioners of Camberwell and Walworth would, he hoped, come forward again, and demand the due punishment of that fellow Popay. (Great cheering). Mr. Cobbett then referred to the project that had been formed for extending the new police throughout the kingdom; but which project had been now blown up. The object of that was to keep the chopsticks in a state of quiet, upon water and potatoes; to suppress "intimidation," as the Poor-Law Commissioners' Report called it. But the project had been defeated, and as long as there were sticks and stones in the country villages, no policeman's brains would be safe in his head if he were sent there. (Loud cheers). Mr. Cobbett, in conclusion, spoke of the ingenious and manly conduct of the petitioners when examined before the committee, and of the effect that conduct produced on the minds of several of the members. Sir Robert Peel asked one of them why they had Political Unions, and guns, and pistols. He frankly replied, because we are oppressed by the Government, and we believe that a day of trial must come. We desire only to be permitted to live by our labour and to enjoy our fair rights. If these are denied to us, we are ready to fight for them when the proper time shall arrive. (Laughter and cheers). It was in that straightforward and bold manner that the petitioners had answered, and the committee at once saw that it was impossible not to believe them in all they said. They showed that they had no object but that they avowed, and their testimony, therefore, had its proper weight. Mr. Cobbett sat down amidst tremendous cheering.

Mr. NICHOLSON proposed the next toast—"Trial by Jury." In proposing this toast, one which, as the proposer remarked, was identified with the liberties of the people, Mr. Nicholson adverted to the attempt of Lord Brougham, in his Local Courts' Bill, to reduce the number of jurors from twelve to six. This Mr. Nicholson characterized as a crafty scheme of the crafty Whig, to

take from the people the protection which the institution of the trial by jury threw around them. Six men, he remarked, were more manageable than twelve; and hence the anxiety for the change. Economy could not be the plea set up for the reduction of numbers; for juries were one of the few things which gave the people benefits without cost. (Cheers). After some further and appropriate remarks, Mr. Nicholson proposed the toast, which was drunk with great applause.

Mr. CARPENTER proposed—"The Liberty of the Press; and a speedy extinction of the taxes upon Newspapers." Mr. Carpenter said, the Chairman had selected him to drink an old Whig toast. (Laughter). He had no doubt, however, that it would be drunk with the same enthusiasm as the previous toasts had, seeing that he and the company would put upon the words an interpretation differing from that of the Whigs. (Cheers). The liberty of the press—the real liberty of the press, which consisted in the right to publish anything and everything that could promote the public good: without a censorship of persons or of unjust libel laws; the real liberty of the press was essential to the liberty and well-being of the community. Hitherto it had been unknown in its fullest degree, and it would continue unknown until the public willed its realization, and boldly and firmly asserted its purpose to enjoy it. (Cheers). There were other modes of destroying the liberty of the press, besides a formal censorship; and those modes being more indirect or disguised, would answer the purposes of a government like that of England, much better than the more obviously obnoxious system of a censorship. The bonds demanded from the proprietors of newspapers and political publications, giving security against the publication of anything tending to bring the King or either House of Parliament into contempt; accompanied, as they were, by a heavy tax, the operation of which was to make it the more immediate interest of public writers to consult the opinions and tastes of the richer classes in the

community, gave the Government all the censorship that they desired. The repeal of the laws enforcing these, must be repealed before the British public could be said to enjoy the liberty of the press; and to the attainment of this he trusted the energy of those who had effected so much in other matters would be unremittably applied. (Cheering). Advertising to the more immediate subject that had brought them together, Mr. Carpenter said, there was a circumstance well worthy the attention of the meeting, as tending to throw some light on the cause of that anxiety which had been shown at head-quarters, to extend the new police throughout the kingdom. Those who were familiar with the writings of Mr. Cobbett—and who was not?—(cheers)—were familiar with the real cause of our overgrown standing army. They knew that no pretext could be set up for the maintenance of the existing military system, but that of its necessity to repress the discontent and disaffection of the people, and enforce the payment of those tremendous burdens that were imposed upon them. (Cheers). The standing army, though not avowedly so, were the real tax-collectors, and without them the Treasury would soon become exhausted. (Cheers.) The people were everywhere becoming exasperated at the continued profligacy of the Government, and were resolved that the church-rates, and the house and window taxes, at any rate, should be no longer extorted from them. (Tremendous cheering). They avowed that they had no cash for paying these, and that they could only be had in tables and chairs. This resolve could only be put down by coercive measures; but to send a band of soldiers into every street in the metropolis, and every town and village in the country, was a thing not to be thought of even by the boldest Minister. The police force, however, was hit upon as the substitute for the army; and the Ministers had hoped that this expedient might have been carried into effect. Did they not believe that the Government anticipated troubles more numerous and serious than any they had yet seen? He was sure they

ed so; and if any doubt could have been entertained on the matter, that doubt would have been dispelled by the *Morning Chronicle* of that day. Much as he had lately been surprised and disgusted by the articles in the *Chronicle* during the last six months, he had never been so much surprised as upon reading the article to which he now referred. They all knew that Mr. Cobbett had declared for the last twelve or fourteen years that the system of Government, if pursued much longer, would inevitably lead to the stripping of the landowners of their estates. That he had asserted a thousand times; and for that he had been laughed at and abused. But what said the *Chronicle* of that morning? The very same thing, and almost in the same words. (Laughter, and cheers). It was scarcely credible, but it was true. The *Morning Chronicle*, in an elaborate article on the depressed condition of the agricultural interest, declared that there was no alternative between the ruin of the farmers, and the stripping of the landlords of their estates. (Renewed laughter). They might well laugh at the fact, although it was not itself anything but a laughable matter; and the declaration appearing in the columns of the *Morning Chronicle* was pretty good evidence that there was no longer any possibility of hiding the truth. Had it appeared in a Radical paper it might have been set down as a rash assertion, made, perhaps, for mischievous purposes; but the organs of Government were too careful of themselves that they said to be chargeable with such rashness. There was the fact, and the meeting might draw its own inferences as to the position in which the Ministers felt themselves to be placed. But what did they suppose to be the cause assigned by the writer of this ruinous state of affairs among farmers and landholders? Tithes, or any description of public burthen. No such thing. To what did they think, then? To the improved condition of the agricultural labourer! (Laughter). The farmers, said the *Chronicle*, can only be saved from ruin, by a reduction of rents, but

the landowners being so greatly in debt, cannot make any reduction in rents but at the expense of losing their estates altogether. Then comes the alternative; a reduction in the wages of the agricultural labourer. But would the labourers submit to that? Had they forgotten what they did for themselves, by their rebellion in the winter of 1830? No; and they never would do so. To attempt it, therefore, would be to proclaim a rural war; and hence the anxiety for a rural police. (Cheers). After some further remarks upon the agricultural and commercial interests of the country, Mr. Carpenter sat down amidst great cheering.

Mr. COBBETT requested permission to say a few words before the toast was drunk. He felt gratified and delighted by the speech of Mr. Carpenter. It had been one of great importance, and was well worthy of being thought upon. (Cheers). What Mr. Carpenter had said about him was true. He (Mr. Cobbett) had for years asserted, that if the ruinous system of Government were not speedily put an end to, the Jews and jobbers would get all the landed estates. That it now appeared the *Morning Chronicle* admitted to be true; and though he did not rejoice at the prospect, he could not but be gratified to find the *Morning Chronicle* verifying his statements. (Great cheering). Mr. Cobbett then adverted to the rise in wages which the rural rebellion of 1830 had obtained for the labourers, amounting in the aggregate to eighteen millions, and which he had always said the farmers could not continue to pay without a great reduction in the taxes. As to the idea of reducing the chopsticks' wages, that was sheer folly. These fellows knew too well the power they had to suffer that for a moment. In fact, it was folly and madness to think of it. Something else must be done, if the landlords' estates were to be saved. (Cheers).

The toast was then drank with due honours.

Mr. GRADY proposed, in an appropriate speech, which was frequently applauded, "The unrepresented; may

they soon obtain their just rights—universal suffrage, short parliaments, the ballot, and no property qualification.”

Mr. NICHOLSON proposed the health of Dr. Wade, with a suitable eulogy.

Dr. WADE returned thanks in a long and able speech, in which he defended himself against the *Morning Chronicle*, which had spoken of him, in common with other members of the Westminster Association for abolishing the assessed taxes, as a conspirator and an anarchist. The Doctor maintained that these associations were justified in the course they were taking, by the conduct of the Government.

Mr. CARPENTER, in a long speech, defended the associations, upon constitutional principles, and, especially by the authority of Burke.

Mr. NICHOLSON proposed the “*True Sun*, the people’s paper,” and called upon all present to give it their support. He said he was in daily communication with all parts of the kingdom, and he could state that the *True Sun* had effected wonders in almost every town and village in the country. If the people did not support the paper, they would show themselves undeserving of a free press.

Mr. DENNETT and Mr. SIMPSON expressed the sense of obligation which the masons felt towards the paper, and stated, that it was the intention of numerous workmen to use no house in which the *True Sun* was not taken. He hoped that the working men throughout the kingdom would act upon the same principle. It was their duty to do so. (Great cheering.)

Mr. CARPENTER returned thanks, and the meeting separated.

We should have stated that the sum of 6l. 4s. was collected for Mr. Deane, through whose exertions chiefly, Popay was detected. He is in circumstances of great distress, occasioned by his dismissal from the police, and we were glad to see the sympathy manifested towards him.

RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE IN BOROUGHES.

SIR,—The confused and even con-

tradictory reports of the revising barristers’ decisions on the right of lodgers to vote as parliamentary electors, induces me to trouble you with my opinions on that subject; they are the result of considerable research, and will, I believe, be found substantially correct.

The governing principle of the Reform Act suffrage in Boroughs, is, that it should be vested in the occupiers of premises of the annual value of ten pounds, and that, too, without reference to those premises being an entire house, or a part of a house, or a shop, warehouse, dwelling room, or other description of premises. All that is required for the basis of suffrage is the *bona fide* occupancy, and the ten pounds annual value; so that a house of sixty pounds annual value held by one man who lets off a distinct part value ten pounds to each of five other men, gives six persons equal right to be registered as parliamentary voters, and this holds good whether the subletting be yearly, monthly, or weekly, provided the rent be in proportion to the required annual ten pounds, the act in no part of it even stating the kind of letting requisite, mentioning the words householder or lodger, but cautiously confining itself to the terms “occupier of premises of ten pounds annual value.”

Now, Sir, this was the suffrage which the reform Ministry told us we were to have, and this was the suffrage which induced me (among many thousands) zealously to advocate the Reform Bill, little thinking that the Ministry would break faith with us on so important a subject, by covertly throwing difficulties in the way of that suffrage of which they so loudly vaunted, and to the expectation of which they were indebted for the greatest part of the gallant and energetic support they received. However, so it is; and Whig reputation in good faith receives another stab.

When the Reform Act was printed the rate and tax-paying clauses were discovered, but not before. Of these clauses, nothing whatever had been said by the Ministry during the discussion, and of the existence of which clauses, I verily believe a large part

the supporters of the bill in the House of Commons were totally ignorant: at least, I know that a very able and talented supporter of the bill, and nearly connected with the Ministry, declared, even after the act came into operation, that there were no such clauses in it.

However, there they are; and until we can get rid of them, we must put up with the injustice. But still they do not alter the original basis of the suffrage, which yet remains in the ten-pound occupier, be he householder or lodger, or be his tenancy yearly, monthly, or weekly.

If, therefore, any sub-tenant (or lodger in the modern acceptation of the word) desire to obtain his franchise, he ought immediately to send written notice to the overseer of his parish, requiring that his name may be entered in the present poor-rate books, as an occupier to the value of ten pounds of the assessment of the house in which he resides, his year of preparatory rating will then date back to the day of making the present poor-rate; and if in July next his year is complete, and the enactment for the payment of rates and taxes shall have been complied with (or repealed), then the overseer is bound to register him as an elector, and his vote is as valid as that of the householder or landlord, whose liability for the amount of rate is in no way diminished by his lodger being rated for a part of the assessment.

I believe I have now placed this important matter in its true light; and if any of your readers have a desire for more information on the subject, I beg to refer them to the *Morning Chronicle* of 23. Aug., 1832, in which they will find a case drawn by me, and to the *Morning Chronicle* of 28. Aug., and a day or two subsequent (also last year), where they will find clear and able answers to the case from a barrister of the Inner Temple.

I am, Sir,

Your constant reader,

GEO. ROGERS.

High-street, St. Giles,
5. Oct., 1833.

To Mr. Cobbett, M.P.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

HOBSON, T., High Holborn, bookseller.
PULBROOK, J. Z., Great Surrey-street,
Blackfriars-road, boot-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

BURRELL, C., Northumberland place, Commercial-road, cheesemonger.
CECIL, J., Upper Thames-street, leather-seller.
KIRKMAN, W., New Basford, Nottinghamshire, lace-manufacturer.
PHILLIPS, S., Russell-street, Bermondsey, furrier.
WAUD, C., New Bond-street, cook and confectioner.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

BROADMEAD, R., York, victualler.
COLES, J. H., Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, linen-draper.
CROGGON, W., sen., Belvedere-road, Lambeth, artificial stone-manufacturer.
GRAHAM, W., Liverpool, wine-merchant.
LAKEMAN, J., Kingsbridge, Devonshire, maltster.
M'COLGAN, J., Liverpool, tailor.
PRICE, T., Hereford, victualler.
REAY, G., North Shields, joiner.
SMETHURST, H., George-street, Great Surrey-street, hatter.
WILLS, J., St. James's-place, St. James's-street, tailor.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

EAGLESHAM, H., Paisley, shawl-manufacturer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Oct. 7.—The extensive supplies of Wheat and Barley which came to hand towards the close of last week, and the greater portion remaining unsold on Friday, added to a fair arrival this morning, caused the stands to exhibit an ample show of samples, particularly from the home counties, as well as Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire. The large receipt of Flour likewise depressed the market, and deterred millers from coming forward. The business transacting in Wheat was, therefore, very limited, and the quality and condition of the fresh Corn not being improved from last week, rendered the better descriptions full 1s. per qr. cheaper, and all secondary and inferior sorts extremely difficult to quit at a decline of 2s. per qr. on the rates of this day

week. Old Wheat was dull sale, and prices nominally the same. In bonded Corn nothing doing.

Barley was in plentiful supply, but the new samples received this morning were rather improved in quality; the quantity, however, of samples on hand exceeding considerably the demand, prices of all descriptions, except the selected parcels, receded 2s. per qr.; and the market for the article closed dull at this decline.

Malt of all qualities was a very heavy sale.

Oats in moderate supply, and the article experienced a fair demand, at rather worse prices than this day week.

New Beans were more in request, and in some instances realized 1s. advance; old qualities were dull and unaltered in value.

New white Peas met a very limited request, and must be noted 1s. to 2s. cheaper.

Grey and maple were also dull sale.

Ship Flour, owing to the large arrivals, hung on hand, and might have been purchased on rather lower terms. In town-made qualities no alteration.

Wheat	58s. to 63s.
Rye	30s. to 32s.
Barley	26s. to 30s.
— fine	30s. to 38s.
Peas, White	36s. to 39s.
— Boilers	42s. to 50s.
— Grey	34s. to 37s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	33s. to 36s.
Oats, Potato	25s. to 26s.
— Feed	19s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	102s. to 106s.
— Mess, new ...	—s. to 56s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	77s. to 79s. per cwt.
— Carlow	78s. to 81s.
— Cork	—s. to —s.
— Limerick ..	77s. to 78s.
— Waterford ..	74s. to 78s.
— Dublin	72s. to 74s.

SMITHFIELD, October 7.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather numerous, and of considerably improved quality; the supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and Porkers, rather limited. Trade, with Mutton and Pork was somewhat brisk, at fully, with Beef, Lamb, and Veal, dull, at barely Friday's prices.

About four-fifths of the Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts; the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of Herefords and Scots, with a few Sussex Beasts, Town's-end Cows, Staffords, &c., chiefly (say about 2,200 of the short-horns, Devons, Scots, Runts, Herefords, and Irish Beasts) from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire,

and Northamptonshire; with a few from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, and our western and midland districts, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent; the remainder, including Town's-end Cows, chiefly from the London marshes.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about three of the former to five of the latter; about one-fifth South Downs, and the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs consisted of about equal numbers of new Leicesters, for the most part of the Downish cross, and South Downs, with a few pens of Dorsets, Kentish half-breds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Oct. 11.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull, but without alteration in the prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. }	88½ 88½ 88½ 88½ 88½ 88½

SECOND GLASGOW LOTTERY. By Authority of Parliament. The Scheme contains Prices of

£15,000	£2,000
£10,000	£1,500
£5,000	£1,000
£3,000	£500

&c. &c.

All to be drawn in ONE DAY, Wednesday, 22d January next. The Prizes consist of Freehold Lands and Houses; but the fortunate Holders have the option of taking the Property, or receiving the Amount in Money as soon as drawn, according to the Value set against each Prize in the Scheme, subject only to a small Commission of 5 per Cent., to cover the risk and expense in selling the Property. The Shares, divided agreeably to the directions of the Act, are on Sale at all the Offices, at the following Prices.—

WHOLE TICKET	£13 13 0
HALF	£7 6 0
QUARTER ..	3 15 6
EIGHTH	£1 18 6
SIXTEENTH ..	0 19 6

Schemes at large may be had, gratis, at all the Offices.

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